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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80STATE 156703

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INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 ICAE-00
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE
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INFO ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS

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FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/13/86 (HOLBROOKE, RICHARD)

TAGS: SO'N, PEPR, KS

SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES REPORT ON U.S. KOREAN POLICY

1. (U) NEW YORK TIMES OF JUNE 13 CARRIED GWERTZMAN ARTICLE
HEADLINED "U.S. SHOWING DISPLEASURE OVER THE CRISIS IN
SEOUL". TEXT FOLLOWS:

2.(U)BEGIN TEXT: WASHINGTON, JUNE 12--THE UNITED STATES HAS
INDEFINITELY POSTPONED SENDING A HIGH-LEVEL ECONOMIC DELE-
GATION TO SOUTH KOREA AND HAS PUT ALL ASPECTS OF RELATIONS
EXCEPT A BASIC SECURITY COMMITMENT UNDER ACTIVE REVIEW AS
A SIGN OF DISPLEASURE WITH THE NEW MILITARY-DOMINATED
LEADERSHIP, HIGH-RANKING CARTER ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS
SAID TODAY.

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IN INTERVIEWS THE OFFICIALS SAID THEY HAD NO DOUBT THAT
LIEUT. GEN. CHON TOO HWAN WAS PLANNING EITHER TO ASSUME
POWER OR TO HAVE A MAN OF HIS CHOICE DO SO, DESPITE CONTIN-
UED PRIVATE AND PUBLIC AMERICAN EXHORTATIONS FOR A RETURN
TO THE PERIOD OF LIBERALIZATION THAT FOLLOWED THE ASSASSINA-
TION OF PRESIDENT PARK CHUNG HEE LAST OCTOBER.

THE OFFICIALS SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR,

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE 9003608 IS/FPC/CDR TRB Date: 9/13/93

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WILLIAM H. GLEYSTEN JR., HAD TOLD GENERAL CHON AND OTHER LEADERS THAT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVED THE DIRECTION THEY WERE TAKING WAS FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG AND WOULD CAUSE POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND WEAKEN THE COUNTRY INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY.

ONE MISSION IS HEADED OFF: TO SHOW AMERICAN UNHAPPINESS, THE OFFICIALS SAID. THE KOREANS HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THE ENTIRE RELATIONSHIP IS UNDER REVIEW, THE ONLY EXCEPTION BEING THE SECURITY TIES.

SO FAR, AS A RESULT OF THE REVIEW, THE FOLLOWING STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN, THE OFFICIALS SAID:

-- A MISSION HEADED BY J. BRUCE LLEWELLYN, PRESIDENT OF THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION, AN INDEPENDENT AGENCY, ORIGINALLY SET FOR EARLY THIS MONTH, WAS POSTPONED INDEFINITELY TO SHOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT ENCOURAGING NEW INVESTMENT.

-- VOTES FOR TWO LOANS TO SOUTH KOREA, ONE FOR \$54 MILLION BY THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK FOR A PORT PROJECT IN INCHON AND ANOTHER FOR \$10 MILLION BY THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, WERE POSTPONED AT

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THE REQUEST OF THE UNITED STATES. IT IS DECIDING WHETHER IT SHOULD ABSTAIN AS A SIGN OF DISPLEASURE WHEN THE MATTERS ARE VOTED ON IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS.

-- A ROUTINE MEETING OF THE SOUTH KOREAN FOREIGN MINISTRY'S STRATEGIC PLANNERS WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S POLICY PLANNING OFFICE WAS POSTPONED BECAUSE THE ATMOSPHERE WAS NOT RIGHT.

-- VISITS BY HIGH-LEVEL AMERICANS MUST BE APPROVED BY AN INTERAGENCY GROUP HEADED BY RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS. ONE VISIT THAT HAS BEEN APPROVED IS THAT BY GEN. EDWARD C. MEYER, ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF, TO INSPECT THE AMERICAN TROOPS.

ANOTHER ECONOMIC GROUP HEADED BY JOHN L. MOORE, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK, HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO PROCEED AS PLANNED, THE AIM BEING TO PREVENT UNDUE CONCERN IN BANKING CIRCLES IN SEOUL THAT COULD HAVE FURTHER UNDERMINED THE WEAKENED ECONOMY.

"THE MESSAGE WE WANT TO GET ACROSS IS THAT IT IS NOT BUSINESS AS USUAL BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES," A SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL SAID.

ANOTHER OFFICIAL SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS DETERMIN-

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ING WHETHER TO GO AHEAD WITH THE PROMISED SALE OF F-16

FIGHTERS TO SOUTH KOREA, TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES AGREED
IN PRINCIPLE LAST YEAR AS A SUCCESSOR TO THE F-4'S AND F-
5E'S, THE MAINSTAYS OF THE SOUTH KOREAN AIR FORCE.

THE HOPE IS THAT AMERICAN PRESSURE OVER A LONG PERIOD WILL
PERSUADE THE MILITARY TO RETURN TO A MORE OPEN POLITICAL
SYSTEM. "WE HAVE BEEN PRESSING THE GOVERNMENT AND CONTINUE
TO PRESS THE GOVERNMENT OF KOREA TO MOVE TOWARD POLITICAL

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DEVELOPMENT, DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, AND WE HAVE APPLIED
THE PRESSURE -AND IT IS NOT EASY TO DO IT, GIVEN THE
THREATS OF THE NORTH AS IT WOULD BE IF THE THREAT WEREN'T
THERE, BECAUSE STABILITY IS IMPORTANT TO SOUTH KOREA.
SECRETARY OF STATE EDMUND S. MUSKIE SAID MONDAY. END OF
TEXT.

3. (C) I COMMENT THIS PIECE TO YOU AS A RARE ACCURATE
REPORT OF U.S. POLICY AND THE PUBLIC POSTURE WE WANT TO BE
SEEN AS TAKING. IT IS BASED IN PART ON A BACKGROUNDER
MIKE ARMACOST AND I GAVE BERNIE GWERTZMAN YESTERDAY.

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TENTIONALLY UNDERFED--AND SOME ADD, GIVEN DRINK; AND OTHERS
ADD, GIVEN DRUGS--TO MAKE THEM WILD.)

REPORTS OR RUMORS OF GIRLS STRIPPED TO THEIR UNDERCLOTHES
HAVE TURNED OUT TO BE NOT FROM THE SOURCES TO WHICH THEY
WERE ATTRIBUTED, AND SO FAR HAVE NOT BEEN VERIFIED BY ANY-

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BODY WHOM WE HAVE FOUND.

BOTH THE YWCA AND THE CATHOLIC CENTER WERE ENTERED AND
SEARCHED WITH A DEGREE OF VIOLENCE BETTER CALCULATED TO
COW THAN TO FLUSH OUT PEOPLE IN HIDING.

ON MONDAY AFTERNOON AN
SAW YOUNG MEN ROUNDED UP AND TAKEN OFF, AND WITNESSED RE-
PEATED ASSAULTS ON SOME OF THE YOUNG MEN ALREADY APPRE-
HENDED.

MORE STONE-THROWING OCCURRED ON MONDAY; AND ON MONDAY MORN-
ING A [] SAW ACTUAL CIVILIAN INTERVENTION
ON BEHALF OF A PERSON UNDER ATTACK. (THIS WAS WHAT LOOKED
LIKE A MOTHER, YOUNGER SISTER AND SMALLER CHILD WHEN--ONE
GUESSES--THE YOUNG MAN IN THEIR FAMILY WAS BEING HURT.)

PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS WON A GOOD NAMEGEOR AMERICANS AT
THIS TIME BY A SORT OF NON-VIOLENT INTERVENTION. A PCV
SEEING A PERSON BEING BEATEN WOULD GO AND PUT THEIR ARMS
AROUND THE PERSON, THUS BEING IN THE WAY OF FURTHER BEAT-

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ING. ON SUCH AN OCCASION THE ATTACKER WOULD LEAVE HIS
VICTIM BUT CHOOSE ANOTHER, WHO IN HIS TURN WOULD BE PRO-
TECTED BY A PCV WHO PUT HIS ARMS AROUND HIM.

IT IS THE SPONTANEOUS AND UNANIMOUS OPINION OF THE
MISSIONARY COMMUNITY LIVING TOGETHER HERE THAT THE PEACE
CORPS VOLUNTEERS HAVE WON THE LASTING GRATITUDE OF GREAT
NUMBERS OF THE CITIZENS OF KWANGJU FOR THE UNITED STATES.
SHARING THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE WHOM THEY CAME TO SERVE.

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EVEN WHEN IT MEANT SHARING SERIOUS, PERHAPS MORTAL, DANGER, THEY MADE EVERYBODY WHO SAW THEM REALIZE THAT AMERICANS (AND AMERICA) REALLY CARE. THEY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES WITH THE PEOPLE NOTSOY SHARED ANIMOSITIES BUT BY SHARED TROUBLE. MISSIONARIES STAY AS A MATTER OF COURSE, IN OBEDIENCE TO A MASTER AND IN A BOND OF LOVE WHICH LEAVES NO CHOICE; BUT THE PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS WERE, IC ANYTHING, DISOBEDIENT TO THEIR OWN MASTER IN NOT LEAVING THE CITY. IT IS MY PERSONAL OPINION THAT IF THEIR HEADQUARTERS HAD BEEN ABLE TO SEE THE SITUATION FROM THE GROUND AS WE SAW IT, HEAD-QUARTERS WOULD HAVE HOPED THAT THEY WOULD STAY AND DO AL- MOST EXACTLY WHAT THEY DID. AS AMERICANS, WE ARE VERY PROUD OF OUR PEACE CORPS FRIENDS.

WE HEARD OF NO VIOLENT OR RIOT-TYPE DEMONSTRATIONS BEFORE REPORTS OF AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPS' ATTACKS UPON STUDENTS. WE HEARD OF NO NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS AFTER THE REPORTS BEGAN TO CIRCULATE. AGAIN, WE HEARD OF NO VIOLENT OR RIOT- TYPE ACTIVITIES AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE FORCES OF LAW AND ORDER FROM THE CITY. WE ASSUME THAT THERE WILL HAVE BEEN THEVERY AND PERSONAL VIOLENCE, BUT WE HAVE NO DATA TO SUPPORT OUR ASSUMPTION. THERE WAS DEFINITELY ABSOLUTELY NO LOOTING, AND NO WANTON DAMAGE SUCH AS IS ASSOCIATED WITH (FOR INSTANCE) MIAMI OR AMERICAN URBAN RIOTS, EXCEPT DURING

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THE TIME WHEN TROOPS WERE TRYING TO PUT DOWN THE DEMONSTRATIONS. THIS VIOLENCE BEGAN ON MONDAY AND CONTINUED UNTIL THE TROOPS (AND WITH THEM THE POLICE) WERE WITHDRAWN FROM THE CITY.

ON MONDAY CARS AND BUSES WERE BURNED.

WE RE NOT SURE WHEN THE CITIZENRY JOINED THE STUDENTS. IT MAY HAVE BEEN ON MONDAY NIGHT. IT WAS CERTAINLY NO LATER THAN TUESDAY.

WE DO NOT KNOW WHO TOLD WHAT TO WHOM, BUT THE AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPS DID NOT REMAIN IN KWANGJU CITY AFTER MONDAY, SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL. THE APPEARANCE IS THAT THEY WERE PULLED OUT BY OR AT ABOUT MIDNIGHT ON MONDAY, AND REPLACED (BY TROOPS FROM NORTH CHOLLA?).

ON TUESDAY, MAY 20TH:

ON TUESDAY MORNING THERE WERE APPARENTLY NO TROOPS IN KWANGJU OF THE AIRBORNE UNIT, THEIR PLACE HAVING BEEN TAKEN BY "NORTH CHOLLA" TROOPS. (SOME DAYS LATER) WE KNOW, IN THE CITY--NOT IN UNIFORM OF COURSE-- STUMBLED ON TWO AIRBORNE UNIT MEN VERY UNKEMPT AND APPAR- ENTLY LOST AND FRIGHTENED. HE HAD A SCUFFLE WITH THEM AND CAME OUT AHEAD. THIS SEEMS TO BE SIMPLY TWO MEN WHO GOT

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SEPARATED FROM THEIR OUTFIT AND LEFT BEHIND IN A HOSTILE CITY.)

TUESDAY MORNING WAS QUIET. A  WENT TO THE BANK AND GOT SOME MONEY, SAW YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE "VICTIM" AGE GROUP WALKING UNCONCERNED.

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FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

RUMORS SPREAD ON TUESDAY THAT THE HOUSE-SEARCHES OF MONDAY NIGHT WERE A PRELUDE TO PLANNED EXTENSIVE HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCH-AND ABDUCTION PLANS FOR TUESDAY NIGHT. WE ASSUME THESE RUMORS TO BE BASELESS, BUT THEY WERE BELIEVED. ALSO BELIEVED WERE STORIES OF AIRBORNE UNIT MEN WAVING SEVERED BREASTS ON THEIR BAYONETS. WE HAVE BEEN HARD PUT TO FIND SUBSTANTIATED STORIES OF WORSE TREATMENT OF WOMEN THAN OF MEN, AND MOST OF THE SPECIFIC STORIES WE HAVE HEARD CONCERNED NOT WOMEN BUT MEN. HOW TRUE THE RUMORS ARE LIKELY TO BE IS A MATTER ON WHICH OUR MISSIONARY GROUP IS NOT IN FULL AGREEMENT.

A LARGE RALLY ON TUESDAY NIGHT RAN LATE IN DEFIANCE OF THE 9:00 CURFEW. ON TUESDAY NIGHT WE HEARD A MODERATELY LARGE AMOUNT OF GUNFIRE, AND ON WEDNESDAY MORNING WE DISCOVERED THE TROOPS AND POLICE APPARENTLY GONE FROM KWANGJU.

A MARTIAL LAW COMMAND LEAFLET (OF WEDNESDAY, MAY 21) SAYS

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THAT ON TUESDAY NIGHT THE TROOPS AND POLICE SUFFERED TEN CASUALTIES (KILLED OR WOUNDED), AND THAT PUBLIC BUILDINGS, POLICE STATION AND THREE BROADCAST STATIONS HAD BEEN DESTROYED OR BURNED.

NOT ALL TROOPS HAD LEFT THE CITY ON TUESDAY, NONETHELESS, AND THERE WAS MORE FIGHTING ON WEDNESDAY.

A PAPER WRITTEN BY A KOREAN ENGLISH TEACHER AND ADDRESSED

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TO A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT SAYS THAT THE "MBC" TELEVISION STATION CAUGHT FIRE BY ACCIDENT AND THAT STUDENTS TRIED IN VAIN TO SAVE IT. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION.

RUMOR HAS IT THAT THE SOCALLED "V.O.C.", THE STATION OF A LOCAL NEWSPAPER, WAS DESTROYED BY TROOPS. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION.

ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 21ST:

THERE WAS FIGHTING ON WEDNESDAY, BUT NONE OF US SAW IT, ALTHOUGH WE DID HEAR GUNFIRE AND SEE SMOKE. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DROVE SOME PEOPLE TO THE COUNTRY AND RETURNED, BUT WHILE HE SAW BURNING VEHICLES AND HAD SOME ENCOUNTERS WITH THE MILITANT CITIZENRY, HE SAW NO SECTION OF THE CITY (WHERE HIS ROAD TOOK HIM; OR LATER WHERE HE WENT FOR PHOTOGRAPHS) WHICH HAD EITHER TROOPS OR POLICE IN EVIDENCE.

WEDNESDAY MORNING WAS SURPRISING, NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE THE POLICE AND TROOPS WERE GONE FROM OUR SIGHT, BUT BECAUSE WE SAW UNMISTAKABLY THAT ALL VISIBLE CITIZENRY APPLAUDED THE STUDENTS, AND THAT--BARRING ANY UNKNOWN AND DISCREETLY SILENT CITIZENS--THE ENTIRE CITY HAD EMBRACED AND ADOPTED THE STUDENT PROTEST.

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FROM THIS POINT ON, THE MAY EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT WAS CLEARLY A MATTER OF THE CITIZENRY OF KWANGJU, AND SHOULD NOT BE SPOKEN OF IN TERMS OF STUDENTS. I WAS MYSELF ONE OF THE SLOWEST TO RECOGNIZE THIS FACT, BUT I WAS FORCED TO IT AND I CONSIDER IT BEYOND DEBATE.

- EDITORIAL PARAGRAPH; MAY BE SKIPPED:

- IN MY OWN OPINION, WHAT WE SAW IN KWANGJU WAS A DEMONSTRATION OF FREE PEOPLE PUSHED TOO FAR, AND REACTING WITH VIOLENT INDIGNATION WHICH IS DIVORCED FROM POLICY OR PLAN AND WHICH INSPIRES A TEMPORARY LAWLESSNESS IN LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE. I LIKEN IT TO THE BOSTON TEA PARTY; LAWLESS, EMOTIONAL, Destructive AND ILL-CALCULATED FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF BENEFIT; SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION WHEN FREEBORN CITIZENS SUDDENLY REFUSED TO BE TROMPED UPON ANY LONGER. THIS OPINION IS REINFORCED BY THE MANNER IN WHICH THE CITY HANDLES ITS RETURN TO SANITY, WHICH COMES VERY SOON NOW.

ON WEDNESDAY MORNING YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN CAREENED THROUGH THE STREETS ON COMMANDEERED PICK-UPS, BUSES, AND MILITARY-TYPE ARMY OR POLICE VEHICLES, WITH SLOGANS PAINTED ON THEM. AS THEY WENT BY, YOUNG AND OLDER SOBER CITIZENS STOOD BY THE STREETS APPLAUDING AND CHEERING. TWICE I SAW WOMEN

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RUN OUT WITH BUNDLES OF STICKS OR CUDGELS FOR THE STUDENTS. LATER THE OFFERINGS WERE SOFT DRINKS AND BUNS (NEVER DID I SEE LIQUOR GIVEN, OR STUDENTS DRUNK). THE MOOD OF STUDENTS AND CITIZENRY WAS HEADY AND EXHILATED, AND ORDINARY RULES WERE CLEARLY IN ABEYANCE. A VERY FEW RIFLES WERE IN EVIDENCE, BUT THE MOOD WAS LESS LIKE THE EVE OF BATTLE THAN LIKE THE NIGHT BEFORE THE HOMETOWN TEAM'S GAME OF THE SEASON.

[REDACTED]

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SOMEWHERE. HOWEVER, THERE WAS FIGHTING. AT ABOUT NOON THE
[] SAW SMOKE AND WENT TO A POINT
FROM WHICH THEY COULD PLACE IT. THEY ARE SURE THAT THIS
WAS THE BURNING OF THE TAX OFFICE, ALTHOUGH ITS LOCATION
DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE BEEN HELD EARLIER IN THE DAY BY TROOPS
OR POLICE. IF IT WAS WANTONLY BURNED, AS CONTRASTED TO
BEING BURNED IN CONFLICT, IT IS OUR ONLY DEFINITE INSTANCE
OF RIOT-ACTIVITY THIS LATE. IN ANY CASE, THE BUILDING WAS
GUTTED, TOGETHER WITH AN ASSOCIATED BUILDING IN THE SAME
GROUND--AND WITH THE HOME AND RESTAURANT OF []
WHO LIVED TOO CLOSE TO ES-
CAPE THE FIRE.

A LITTLE BEFORE THIS [] ON THE LAST
JAUNT HE RISKED BY CAR, WAS TOLD OF "MANY BODIES" IN FRONT
OF THE CATHOLIC CENTER AND ASKED TO GO PHOTOGRAPH THEM,
BUT WAS UNABLE TO GET THERE BY CAR AND UNWILLING TO LEAVE
HIS CAR UNTENDED. HE FOUND PEOPLE NOT UNFRIENDLY TO HIM,
BUT IN A VERY ANGRY MOOD AT THIS POINT. []
HOWEVER, DID SEE THESE DEAD.)

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CASUALTIES BEGAN COMING IN AT NOON ON WEDNESDAY. ANY
EARLIER CASUALTIES ARE FOR THE MOST PART UNACCOUNTED FOR
EVEN AFTER THE CITY HAS BEEN REOCCUPIED AND THE DEAD
BURIED.

MANY CASUALTIES WERE NEEDLESS TRAGEDIES. WE HAVE A NUMBER
OF STORIES OF THESE. WE HAVE NO (OR ALMOST NO) INDICATION,
HOWEVER, OF WANTON CRUELTY AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE AIR-
BORNE UNIT TROOPS. THIS COULD BE BECAUSE OF THE CHANGE OF

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TROOPS OR IT COULD BE BECAUSE A RIOT-CONTROL TYPE SITUATION WAS SUCCEEDED BY AN ARMED-CONFLICT TYPE SITUATION. (THE FIRST CASUALTY IN THE KWANGJU CHRISTIAN HOSPITAL WAS A MAN BAYONETTED IN THE BACK WHILE TRYING TO FIND OUT ABOUT ONE OR MORE OF HIS CHILDREN, BUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES MAKE IT UNCLEAR WHETHER THE SOLDIER KNEW HIM TO BE INNOCENT. IF HE WAS WOUNDED AT NOON IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE TOURIST HOTEL, AS REPORTED, ANY SOLDIERS THERE AT THAT TIME WILL HAVE BEEN FACING AN EXTREMELY HOSTILE AND DANGEROUS CROWD.) CROWDS WERE WARNED TO DISPERSE OR BE FIRED ON BY HELICOPTERS, BUT THERE WAS GREAT INDIGNATION WHEN FIRING ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE.

FROM 3:00 TO 4:00 ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON THERE WAS A SPATE OF CASUALTIES, BOTH DEAD AND WOUNDED--TEN DEAD AND FIFTY WOUNDED BY ABOUT 4:00 IN THE KWANGJU CHRISTIAN HOSPITAL (BUT BY THURSDAY NOON THE DEAD BROUGHT THERE TOTALED ONLY 13 OR 15, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE MORE WOUNDED).

ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT MANY PEOPLE CAME TO THE COMPOUND IN THE HOPE OF SAFETY FROM SUPPOSED HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCH-AND-SEIZURE OR OTHER DANGERS. MOSTLY THEY WERE PEOPLE'S SONS, BUT THERE WERE OTHERS ALSO. NONE STAYED AT MY HOUSE.

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WEDNESDAY DARKNESS BROUGHT A LARGE INCREASE IN GUNFIRE, MUCH OF IT SEEMING TO BE IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

THE LATTER PART OF THE NIGHT WAS MUCH MORE QUIET, DESPITE A SUPPOSEDLY SURE WORD THAT THE CITY WAS TO BE REOCCUPIED DURING WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

ON THURSDAY, MAY 22ND:

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SA CINCPAC KS

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B1 A9

IN TWO CARS WITH AMERICAN FLAGS AND "FOREIGNER'S CAR" SIGNS, THEY MADE A CIRCUITOUS TRIP TO SONGJONGNI, CONVOYED PART WAY BY CITIZENRY. SONGJONGNI ALSO BEING IN CITIZENS' HANDS, AND NO TRAINS RUNNING, THEY RETURNED AND TOOK THE EXPRES HIGHWAY NORTH UNTIL TURNED BACK BY A MILITARY GUARD ON THE HIGHWAY. THE SOLDIERS SAID, HOWEVER, THAT TRAINS WERE SERVING A STATION WITHIN REACH A LITTLE BACK ON THE ROAD. THIS PROVED TRUE, AND AFTER SEEING THE PARTY OFF, THE TWO CARS RETURNED TO KWANGJU. ENROUTE THEY WERE STOPPED AT A NEWLY ERECTED BARRICADE AND TOLD THAT THE CITY WAS UNDER ATTACK. THIS WAS NOT STRICTLY ACCURATE, AS THEY FOUND OUT WHEN FINALLY ALLOWED TO GO ON. MET BY CITIZENRY AT THE EDGE OF THE CITY, THEY WERE CONVOYED MOST OF THE WAY HOME BY DIFFERENT STREETS THAN BEFORE, AND ARRIVED WITHOUT INCIDENT.

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(CITIZENRY FAITHFULLY SUPPLIED THOSE IN VEHICLES WITH FOOD AND DRINK. ON THIS TRIP BACK TO KWANGJU, [] WAS TOSSED A BUN FROM CITIZENRY IN A COMMANDERED BUS, BUT WITH TOO POOR AN AIM, AND PROCEEDED BUNLESS.)

TWO RUMORS ROSE FROM THIS EXCURSION: ONE, THAT THE MISSIONARIES HAD ALL LEFT THE CITY, AND ONE THAT AMERICAN EMBASSY STAFF HAD ENTERED KWANGJU WITH FLAGS FLYING. SO WE DO NOT

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FEEL WE WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN RELYING HEAVILY ON OTHER RUMORS WHICH WE HEAR.

RUMORS AGAIN CONFIDENTLY FORETOLD THE OCCUPATION OF THE CITY ON THURSDAY NIGHT. FROM 11:00 P.M. UNTIL 12:30 THE WRITER'S FAMILY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HEARD SUSTAINED AND HEAVY FIRING INCLUDING WEAPONRY LARGER THAN SMALL ARMS. THERE WAS A DISCERNIBLE PROGRESSION FROM THE VICINITY OF THE MILITARY UNIT HALF-WAY TO SONGJONGNI IN THE WEST, IN A SOUTHWARD ARC AND AROUND TO A POINT SOUNDING IN THE NIGHT LIKE THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PROVINCIAL CAPITOL. IN THE MORNING THERE WAS NO SIGN OF ANY SUCH ACTION HAVING TAKEN PLACE, SO FAR AS OBSERVATIONS POSSIBLE TO US REVEALED.

FRIDAY THROUGH MONDAY, MAY 23RD THROUGH 26TH:

THE NEXT FOUR DAYS, FRIDAY, SATURDAY, SUNDAY AND MONDAY, WERE A TIME OF NEGOTIATION AND MUTUAL FOREBEARANCE BY MILITARY AND CITIZENRY IN THE EFFORT TO RESTORE REGULAR GOVERNMENT TO KWANGJU.

IN THIS THE INITIATIVE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY THE CHRISTIAN CLERGY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE COINCIDENCE IS SO [REDACTED]

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PERFECT AS TO MAKE OUR ACCOUNT SUSPECT, BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE MAJOR ROLE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN PLAYED BY PASTORS OF THE TWO KOREAN DENOMINATIONS WITH WHICH WE ARE MOST CLOSELY ASSOCIATED [REDACTED]

FOUR TIMES, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THE MILITARY CONSENTED TO POSTPONE MILITARY ACTION AT THE PLEA OF THE RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE (RECONCILIATION; RESOLUTION; SETTLEMENT. SETTLEMENT PROCEDURE COMMITTEE? -- SOO-SUP TAE-CHAEK COMMITTEE).

MEANWHILE THERE WAS NO NIGHT WHEN FIRING DID NOT OCCUR. TROOPS ADVANCED WELL INTO THE CITY AND WITHDREW. ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION THEY WITHDREW WHEN A DELEGATION OF PASTORS WENT AND ASKED THEM TO ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY HAD AGREED NOT TO COME YET INTO THE CITY.

ON FRIDAY MORNING THE [REDACTED] FAMILY SAW TWO UNIFORMED SOLDIERS WALKING THROUGH OUR OWN HILL, BUT DID NOT SPEAK TO THEM OR THEY TO HIM.

MEANWHILE THE CITIZENRY MAINTAINED GOOD ORDER IN THE CITY, PAGE NO. 17

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AND BEGAN COLLECTING WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES TO AVOID
TROUBLE WHEN THE CITY WAS REOCCUPIED. (SOME PERHAPS AL-
READY FELT THAT THE COLLECTION WOULD ON THE CONTRARY PRO-
VIDE A DEPOT OF ARMS TO USE IN RESISTING REOCCUPATION, BUT
IF SO IT WAS A PRIVATE OPINION.)

TOOK A LEAD IN SEEKING THE FORMATION OF AN

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SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 DCS-06 SY-05
SYE-00 DCT-02 /083 W

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O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6946
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

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BY AND LARGE THE HARD-LINE STUDENTS DID NOT REFUSE TO
ACCEPT THE SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED, BUT SOME OF THEM FELT WITH
THE SOCIAL-ACTIVIST NEWCOMERS ON THE CONCERNED CITIZENS'
COMMITTEE THAT A LITTLE TOUGHER BARGAINING WOULD BE BETTER.
THE SUICIDE GROUP OF COURSE WAS THE MAJOR PROBLEM.

WITH THE BREAKING OF THE CONSENSUS, THE DELEGATION COULD NO
LONGER SPEAK FOR THE CITY IN DEALING WITH THE MARTIAL LAW
COMMAND.

ON SUNDAY NIGHT WE RECEIVED A MESSAGE INDICATING THAT ONLY
MILITARY SECURITY FORBADE TELLING US OUTRIGHT THAT MILITARY
ACTION WOULD BEGIN ON SUNDAY NIGHT OR MONDAY. SINCE THERE
HAD BEEN NO NOTICE GIVEN THE CITY, WE THOUGHT THIS A BREAK-
ING OF A PROMISE, AND THE

AGREED TO SEEK MEMBERS OF THE RECONCILIATION DELEGA-
TION AND SUGGESTED THAT THEY ASK ENOUGH DELAY TO KEEP THE
PROMISE MADE BEFORE.

ON MONDAY MORNING THIS WAS CONFIRMED BY TROOP MOVEMENTS.

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AND WE SET OUT ON THIS ERRAND; AND SAW POSTED ON THE
STREET NEW POSTERS OF AN INFLAMMATORY NATURE, OVER A NAME
ALMOST BUT NOT EXACTLY LIKE THAT USED BY THE RECONCILIATION
PROCEDURES COMMITTEE. THE COMMITTEE MEMBER, WHOM THE
WRITER APPROACHED, SEEMED TO THE WRITER TO HAVE FELT THAT
HE HAD DONE ALL HE COULD DO, AND THAT THE BREAKING OF THE
CONSENSUS HAD RESULTED IN THE BREAKING OF THE CITY'S SIDE
OF THE ACHIEVED SETTLEMENT, SO THAT THE PROMISES WERE AL-
READY VOID. THE FABRICATED POSTERS WERE CLEARLY THE WORK

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OF OTHERS. AND WOULD NOT BE BELIEVED BY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE. CONTACT WAS OUT OF TOUCH AT THE MOMENT, BUT WE MET SOME OTHERS, AND WERE TAKEN BY THEM TO THE MEETING OF THE CONCERNED CITIZENS. NOT TO SPEAK BUT TO LISTEN.

B/19

THERE HAD BEEN A DEADLINE ANNOUNCED, AND IN FACT THE MARTIAL LAW TROOPS DID NOT COME UNTIL AFTER THAT DEADLINE PASSED, SO EITHER OUR INTERPRETATION OF THE INFORMATION WE RECEIVED WAS WRONG OR SOMEBODY TOOK ACTION AFTER ALL.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE CITY CAME ON MONDAY NIGHT, OR MORE PROPERLY IN THE EARLY HOURS OF TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 27TH.

THE MILITARY OPERATION WAS SWIFT AND NEAT. THE GUNFIRE WE HEARD WAS FAR LESS THAN WE HAD HEARD ON THE THURSDAY WHEN IT HAD BEEN SO NOISY.

WE THINK IT CLEAR THAT THE OCCUPATION OF THE CITY WAS AS RELATIVELY BLOODLESS AS IT TURNED OUT BECAUSE IN FACT THE CITY DID NOT OPPOSE IT. THE ONLY ACTUAL OPPOSITION, WE BELIEVE, WAS FROM THE SUICIDE GROUP AND SOME TRAGIC HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN WHO JOINED THEM.

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THE DAYS FROM FRIDAY THROUGH MONDAY WERE ALSO THE PERIOD DURING WHICH AMERICANS WERE INSTRUCTED TO LEAVE KWANGJU. TIME MAGAZINE'S ACCOUNT THAT "SOME MISSIONARIES" WERE RECEIVED AT THE AIR FORCE BASE IS TRUE IN THAT THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO CAME AS MISSIONARIES OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS DID (WE HEAR) LEAVE KWANGJU. WE KNOW OF NO OTHER.

B/19

OUR PRESENCE WAS CONSPICUOUSLY (WORD CHOSEN BY DESIGN) SATISFYING TO ALL WE MET. TO HAVE LEFT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE TO US EACH, AND HAD WE FORCED OURSELVES TO LEAVE, THERE WOULD, WE THINK, HAVE BEEN NO MORE PLACE FOR US TO SERVE IN THIS COMMUNITY.

FROM TUESDAY, MAY 27TH, THROUGH WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4TH:

THE CITY WAS REOCCUPIED IN THE DAYBREAK HOURS OF TUESDAY, MAY 27. THE RADIO WARNED EVERYONE TO STAY OFF THE STREETS THAT DAY. NOT ALL OF US OBEYED THE ORDER, BUT NONE OF US SUFFERED HURT OR THREAT OF HURT.

FOLLOW-UP OPERATIONS SEEMED LARGELY TO BE NOT RETALIATORY BUT SIMPLY FOR THE REMOVAL OF THOSE WHO STILL REFUSED TO TURN IN ARMS OR ACCEPT THE RETURN OF POLICE AND TROOPS. SIX WERE FLUSHED OUT OF OUR OWN HILL, AND WERE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY IN A SITUATION WHERE THEY COULD MORE EASILY HAVE

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BEEN SHOT BY THE TROOPS INTO WHOSE ARMS THEY WERE SKILL-
FULLY HERDED.

WE WERE SHOCKED BY AN INCIDENT AT THE YWCA, IN WHICH BLOOD
WAS SHED AND LIVES WERE LOST. LATER WE LEARNED (FROM
SOURCES MORE LIKELY TO BE SYMPATHETIC THAN NOT TO THE
YWCA) THAT AT THE TIME OF THIS INCIDENT THERE WAS A PRAYER

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SYE-00 DCT-02 /083 W

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O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6947
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA, SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 3)

MEETING HELD IN THE YWCA LATE INTO THE NIGHT IN VIOLATION OF THE CURFEW, AND THAT ALTHOUGH THE GIRLS AT THE PRAYER MEETING SLIPPED SAFELY HOME, THE BOYS CHOSE TO REMAIN, AND THAT IN SPITE OF ALL THE TURNING IN OF WEAPONS, THE BOYS HAD GUNS WITH THEM. FINALLY, WE LEARNED THAT THERE WERE ONLY TWO DEATHS, ONE OF AN EMPLOYEE ON DUTY AND ONE OF ONE OF THE BOYS.

THE MAY 13 INCIDENT WAS NOT COMMUNIST INSPIRED OR INFILTRATED OR INFECTED. THIS IS CLEAR FACT, BUT WE HEAR--NOT SURPRISINGLY--THAT THE TROOPS WHICH REOCCUPIED THE CITY WERE GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY WERE DEALING WITH A COMMUNIST INSURRECTION. IF JUDGMENT IS TO BE PASSED, WE THINK THIS MISINFORMATION OF THE TROOPS EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN IS THE RESTRAINT BY WHICH SO FEW CASUALTIES OCCURRED, EVEN WHEN THE TROOPS THOUGHT IT WAS COMMUNISTS THEY WERE FIGHTING.

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FOR THE KNOWN DEAD, THE CITY PROVIDED BURIAL SPACE IN THE SUBURBAN CITY CEMETERY, BUT FAMILIES DID NOT HAVE THE OPTION OF BURIALS ELSEWHERE. TRUCKS TOOK COFFINS, FREE BUSES TOOK MOURNERS. CITY GRAVEDIGGERS PREPARED ROW ON ROW OF OPEN GRAVES, AND AFTER INTERMENT HELPED FINISH AND SOD THE MOUNDS. WE ATTENDED OR SHARED THE FUNERAL OF A SEMINARY STUDENT WHOM WE UNDERSTAND TO HAVE BEEN EXEMPLARY IN BEHAVIOR AND KILLED ALMOST BY ACCIDENT WHILE GUARDING EXPLOSIVES FROM FALLING INTO WRONG HANDS. THE MULTIPLE SIMUL-

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TANEDOUS BURIALS WERE EXTREMELY TAXING TO OBSERVE.

AS THE MAY EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT FALLS FARTHER INTO THE BACKGROUND WE BEGIN TO FEEL WE SEE INCREASING DEGREES OF RETALIATION. ONE SOURCE SYMPATHETIC TO THE CITIZENS SAYS THAT THE CONTRACT WAS BROKEN BY THE CITY AND THE PROMISE ALREADY VOID. IF THE PROMISE IS NOT VOID, THE APPEARANCE IS THAT IT HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT BROKEN. IF THE PROMISE IS VOID INDEED, THE WONDER IS THAT THERE REMAINS THIS MUCH GENTLENESS.

IF AN ABBREVIATED ACCOUNT IS THIS LONG, CONSIDER HOW MUCH REMAINS UNSAID, BUT ONE FINAL POINT I AM DETERMINED TO MAKE. IT IS THIS.

IN MY LIFE I HAVE NEVER FELT SUCH WONDERING PRIDE IN MY KOREAN FRIENDS AS I HAVE FELT IN THE DAYS OF THIS MAY EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT. ALL I HAD SUPPOSED ABOUT THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE WAS SURPASSED BY WHAT WAS TO ME AN INCREDIBLE WILLINGNESS TO PAY ANY PRICE REQUIRED IF BY PAYING IT THEY COULD ACHIEVE GOOD. I MEAN PARTICULARLY THE RESTRAINT SHOWED BY THE MILITARY AFTER THE FIRST TRAGIC DAYS WHICH SET EVERYTHING OFF, AND THE DISCIPLINE AND RESTRAINT SHOWED BY THE CITIZENRY AT A TIME WHEN THEY BE-

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LIEVED THINGS FAR MORE OUTRAGEOUS THAN THE TRAGIC TRUTH.

IN NO WAY DIMINISHING THE CREDIT DUE TO OUR KOREAN FRIENDS, FIRST PRAISE GOES TO GOD, WHO IN HIS GOOD WILL SAW FIT THIS TIME TO ANSWER OUR PRAYERS WITH DAILY MIRACLES WORKED IN THE HEARTS OF HUNDREDS WHO KNOW HIM AND THOUSANDS WHO DO NOT. IF I HAVE ONE REGRET IT IS TO END THIS REPORT WITH NO MORE PRAISE THAN THIS. I WISH NOW TO EMPHASIZE SOME IMPORTANT POINTS TO BE REMEMBERED:

1) KWANGJU WAS NEVER A RIOT-TORN CITY. FOR UNDER 24 HOURS RIOT-TYPE ACTIVITY TOOK PLACE IN SPECIFIC AND LIMITED LOCATIONS ON ACCOUNT OF THE CITIZENS' OUTRAGE, BUT EVEN DURING THOSE TIMES THE CITY WAS NOT IN TURMOIL AND THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY NOT IN DANGER FROM THE SO-CALLED RIOTERS. OUTSIDE THE HOURS OF THIS DESTRUCTIVE FURY, WHICH WAS SO NARROWLY FOCUSED AND SO SPECIFICALLY LOCALIZED, THE CITY WAS QUIET, AND PEOPLE WERE COMPLETELY SAFE EITHER ON OR OFF THE STREETS.

2) KWANGJU WAS NOT A CITY HELD DANGEROUSLY BY STUDENTS OR DISSIDENTS. IT WAS A CITY UNITED IN CRISIS. THE CRISIS CAME FROM OUTSIDERS, UNITING THE CITIZENRY AS ONLY HAPPENS IN CRISIS AND DISASTER. EVEN THE POLICE, EVEN THE RIOT-POLICE, WERE FELT BY THE CITIZENS TO BE INNOCENT OF OFFENSE

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AGAINST THE CITY. THE ANIMOSITY OF KWANGJU IS AGAINST THE AIRBORNE UNIT WHICH BEHAVED SO BADLY, AND AGAINST THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH THE CITY BELIEVES TO HAVE BEEN UNFAIR THROUGHOUT.

3) CIVIL RIGHTS, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND GREATER DEMOCRACY WERE NOT AT THE HEART OF KWANGJU'S ANGER. STUDENT ACTIVITY TOWARD THESE GOALS WAS THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE EVENTS WHICH ROUSED THE CITY, AND MANY OF THE CITIZENS FEEL DEEPLY

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SYE-00 DCT-02 /083 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
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SA CINCUNC KS

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ABOUT THESE CAUSES, BUT THE KWANGJU INCIDENT WAS NOT FOR OR
BECAUSE OF THESE THINGS. IT WAS BECAUSE OF OUTRAGEOUS ACTS
AGAINST ITS PEOPLE, AND ITS OBJECTIVE WAS TO MAKE KNOWN
THAT SUCH ACTS COULD NOT BE INFLICTED HERE WITH IMPUNITY.

4) THE OUTPAGES WHICH OCCURRED WERE NOT FOR THEIR PART
DISCERNIBLY INFECTED WITH SEXUAL LICENSE OR WITH SADISTIC
ACTS AGAINST WOMEN. DESPITE RUMORS OF UNSPEAKABLE ACTS,
THE VICTIMS OF ABUSE PROVIDE INADEQUATE GROUNDS FOR BELIEF
IN SPECIFICALLY WOMAN-FOCUSED ATROCITIES.

5) TO THOSE WHO HAVE LIVED LONG IN KOREA, THE SINGLE MOST
AMAZING FACTOR IN THE ENTIRE KWANGJU INCIDENT IS AN ATYPICAL
AND PROBABLY MIRACULOUS RESTRAINT EXERCISED BY ALL.
WHATEVER CHARGES MAY BE BROUGHT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OR
THE MARTIAL LAW COMMAND, THE CONSPICUOUS FACT IS THAT,
WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE KWANGJU AREA AND THE TIME OF
THE KWANGJU INCIDENT AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE AIRBORNE
UNITS, THE KOREAN MILITARY EXERCISED, AND THE KOREAN
GOVERNMENT ALLOWED, A RESTRAINT WHICH RAN COUNTER TO THEIR

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RECORD AND MUST HAVE BEEN GALLING TO MAINTAIN. BY THE SAME
TOKEN, THE SELF-DISCIPLINE AND RESTRAINT SHOWN BY THE CITIZENRY
IS BEYOND ALLPRECEDENT.

FINALLY, THE MISSIONARIES WERE NOT IN ANY GREAT DANGER, BUT
WERE THE OBJECT OF CONCERN ON THE PART NOT ONLY OF OUR OWN
COUNTRY BUT ALSO ON THE PART OF KOREANS ON BOTH SIDES OF
THE KWANGJU CONFLICT. NONETHELESS WE LEARNED THAT HEROISM
IS APPARENTLY NOT REQUIRED OF GOD'S SERVANTS IN SITUATIONS

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LIKE OURS; BUT THAT HE GIVES INSTEAD A CLEAR CONSCIOUSNESS OF WHAT WE SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT DO, TOGETHER WITH SO UNMISTAKABLE AN ASSURANCE OF HIS CARE THAT THERE IS NO ROOM FOR THE KIND OF FEAR WHICH HEROISM CONQUERS. HAD THINGS GONE DIFFERENTLY, OR SOME ACCIDENT OCCURRED, ONE OR MORE OF US MIGHT HAVE DIED, BUT UNLESS IT IS HEROIC TO RELAX IN THE LOVE OF GOD, WE NEVER FELT THAT HE WAS ASKING US TO BE HIS HEROES.

THIS IS NOT TO SAY WE WERE IN SO CRITICAL A SITUATION, BUT ONLY TO SAY WE WERE GIVEN STRONG AND SIMPLE GIFTS WHICH MADE THESE THINGS IRRELEVANT.

/S/ [REDACTED]

] JUNE 5-6, 1980.

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END QUOTE. CLEYTEEN

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